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Official Report

West Bengal Legislative Assembly

Debates on Motion under rule 185 on the mysterious disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Taihoku Airport in Formosa *(Translated from Bengali)*

8BL

[Extracts from the Proceedings of the meeting of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly held on the 30th September, 1977].

PREFACE

The sudden and mysterious disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from the war-front in the Far East where a glorious chapter of India's struggle for independence was being unfolded during the last phase of the Second World War greatly agonised the minds of millions of our countrymen. Ever since a confusion persisted on the questions whether Netaji is alive or dead and if he is dead what were the circumstances relevant to this episode. A Netaji Enquiry Committee under the Chairmanship of Shri Shah Nawaz Khan and a One-Man-Commission of Enquiry with Shri C. D. Khosla as sole member were set up by the Government of India, the former in 1960 and the latter in 1970, to unearth all facts and circumstances relating to the disappearance of Netaji in 1945 and the subsequent developments connected therewith so that the shroud of mystery around this important phase of our struggle for independence could be unveiled. But unfortunately the findings of the above enquiries could not set all controversies over the question at rest and failed to convince a large section of our people. The anxiety of the countrymen found expression from time to time in various meetings, discussions, press reports, etc. The same feeling was echoed in a discussion in the Lok Sabha some time back. The West Bengal Legislative Assembly sat in discussion over the issue upon a motion moved by Shri Nalini Kanta Guha, M.L.A., belonging to Forward Bloc Party of the Left Front and unanimously resolved to demand of the Central Government that a fresh full-fledged enquiry based on facts which would eliminate the credibility gap in earlier enquiries be initiated. On request from Members it was directed from the Chair that copies of the motion adopted in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly on 30th September, 1977, on this subject along with copies of debates in the House in the matter be circulated among the Members of all State Legislatures in India as well as the Members of both Houses of Parliament. The publication of this booklet is in pursuance of the said direction from the Chair.

S. A. M. HABIBULLAH,
Speaker,
West Bengal Legislative Assembly.

CALCUTTA:
The 2nd March, 1978.

[*Extracts from the Proceedings of the Meeting of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly held on the 30th September, 1977.*]

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[1-10—3-30 p.m.]

Motion under rule 185

Shri Nalini Kanta Guha : Sir, I beg to move the following motion :

"The mysterious disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra from Taihoku airport in Formosa has caused an ever-awake anxiety in the minds of all the countrymen. The enquiry reports of the Shah Nawaj Commission and subsequently of the Khosla Commission, appointed by the Central Government to unveil this mystery, have not been able to bring out information credible to the public mind. As a result, doubt in the minds of all the countrymen about this important chapter in the history of national struggle is yet to be dispelled. This doubt has also found expression during discussion in the recent session of the Lok Sabha.

So, the West Bengal Legislative Assembly demands of the Central Government that effective measures be taken immediately to fulfil the national task of unveiling the mystery of the said disappearance of Netaji by a fullfledged enquiry, based on facts credible to the public mind."

Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, Sir, I place one important issue before the House. "The mysterious disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra from Taihoku airport in Formosa 32 years ago has caused an ever-awake anxiety in the minds of all the countrymen. The enquiry reports of the Shah Nawaj Commission and subsequently of the Khosla Commission, appointed by the Central Government to unveil this mystery, have not been able to bring out information credible to the public mind. As a result, doubt in the minds of all the countrymen about an important chapter in the history of national struggle is yet to be dissipated. This note of doubt has also been articulate in the recent session of the Lok Sabha.

So, the West Bengal Legislative Assembly demands of the Central Government that effective measures be taken immediately to fulfil the national task of unveiling the mystery of the said disappearance of Netaji by a fullfledged enquiry, based on facts credible to the public mind." This motion is moved on the basis of the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra from Taihoku airport, thirty-two years ago. Once again, we find that in spite of talks over the death of Netaji in our country in different times, this riddle is not solved. In this respect the Commissions are twice set up, one is the Shah Nawaj Commission during the regime of Nehru and the other, the Khosla Commission during the tenure of office of Indira Gandhi. This mysterious incident took place at 2-45 p.m. on 18th August 1945. But it is evident from Japanese newspapers that this incident occurred on 23rd August. And from among the incidents, we can come to the conclusion that even the Government of India did not believe this incident wholeheartedly. The then Governor-General Lord Wavel and Early Mountbatten also did not believe it. They directed the Eastern Command to make an enquiry into the incident. They took the news in the newspapers on 18th August as commonplace and behind this incident, relating to the disappearance of Subhas Chandra they wrote that they had to face much difficulty for Subhash Chandra. In 1956, the Shah Nawaj Khan Commission was constituted with three members and one of them was Suresh Chandra Bose. He could not agree with Shah Nawaj Khan. The report of the Shah Nawaj Committee was not based on documents. That was made on silence and experience, on the evidences of Habibur Rehman and the doctors. We have seen that Habibur Rehman was a loyal associate. There would be no mistake in taking steps in consultation with him and the evidences given as directed by him are not trustworthy. The evidence which he gave before that Commission is differenet from that tendered by him before the Khosla Commission. So we cannot admit that there is any

truth in the evidence. Secondly, we have seen that with regard to the evidence given by the doctor, the Commission has not said anything and nor has it thought it necessary to note whether the certificate issued by them bears the signature of the doctor. And the certificate was issued not in the name of Subhash Chandra, but in the name of Japanese gentleman. Then this incident took place on 18th August, 1945.

In the month of October, 1945, in London, the then British Cabinet discussed this matter and a discussion over how Subhash Chandra would be tried was held under the Chairmanship of Atlee. They took him to be a top-ranking civilian. Whether he would be sentenced to death or transported was the point of discussion. So this is not consistent with the verdict delivered by the Shah Nawaj Khan Commission. The system of trial and enquiry of the Khosla Commission which was constituted 18 years later was also of the same sort. The Khosla Commission has said many things in the report. We should take a different perspective from the one taken by the Shah Nawaj Commission to interpret the incidents relating to Subhash Chandra. Besides, the Khosla Commission has said things which are not within its purview. It remarked that the Japanese did not regard him as a man of their own class. They have also observed that they tried to make him serve their purpose. It was not within the purview of the Khosla Commission to remark how the Japanese took Netaji. Yet they offered their comments. Not only this, but also it was said that Nehru did not make any statement about his death. But it is true that the words uttered by Nehru in reply to Kamath in 1952 are remembered by all. From the statement given by Atlee in the month of October, it was clear that he was not sure about the death of Netaji, and keeping it in mind that Netaji was not dead they stressed the procedure of trial once again. The struggle for Indian independence has been voiced forth by Netaji to the people all over the world. Towards the end of the Second World War, he could realise that Germany and Japan would be defeated and they would have to surrender soon and from that point of view, he was formulating his strategy and in order to implement it he organised a meeting with all his associates. He did not disclose the whole plan in the meeting. He, no doubt, asserted that the freedom struggle of India should forge ahead. Consequently steps had been taken one after another since 11th August. And he tried to move ahead keeping this strategy before him. We see that in accordance with his strategy, before 12th August, he deputed Mr. Sahay. He advised him to establish contact with the Communist parties of Russia and China, and also with Ho-Chi-Minh. His plan was a well-thought-out one and he directed his comrades to implement it. Not that alone, but in the letter he wrote to Bhaskaran on the morning of 17th August, it is clearly noted that he was starting on an indefinite journey and that any accident might take place. There was nothing to worry about and there is no doubt that the accident that took place was tactical and pre-planned. This is the second time that the Commission is set up. We see that it has furnished the same report. And as a result, the desire of the common people is not fulfilled. In respect of Netaji's journey without destination, no information was received. People, therefore, want to uncover the truth. Two Commissions were set up, but they could not establish the truth. So a few days back, a fresh discussion with regard to this mystery was held in Parliament and there it was clear that in spite of the constitution of the two Commissions, and of their verdicts, the inquisitiveness of the people has increased rather than lessened. Today demands have been raised from different corners for setting up a Commission and with the result that we find discussions going on in Parliament. In this respect, Janata Party has advanced enthusiastically. In reply to the statement made by Mr. Samar Guha in Parliament in this regard, the Home Minister said that the matter was not properly examined and after having a discussion with the Cabinet, he would given directions. It is in this condition that the whole thing stands at present.

I think that we should adopt procedures keeping it in mind. The struggle that he launched against the British Imperialism could not have ceased at the defeat of Japan and Germany in 1945. We should ponder over this. We will have to investigate the matter afresh. In order to know the consequences of this incident, I would request the Central Government through this House to hold a fresh enquiry into the matter and find out facts through this enquiry and fulfil the expectations of the people. I make this submission to you that we know, how being ordered by the British Government, Mr. Nehru took steps in this respect. As regards proofs relating to the death of Netaji, he did not say anything. I want to submit that on 24th October, Nehru made a statement and people believe that the Khosla Commission tried to give a fuller account of that statement by Nehru and the verdict was delivered by orders of Nehru. We note that the Commission made comments on many things outside its purview. My concluding submission is that we demand of the Central Government for a thorough enquiry about what happened to this glorious fighter who faced the British Imperialism and dedicated all his life to the cause of Indian independence. I also expect that the new Commission that will be set up should move ahead with a new perspective, taking all the aspects of a thorough enquiry into account. With this hope, I conclude my submission

Shri Sasabindu Bera : Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, Sir, I extend wholehearted support to the motion which Shri Nalini Kanta Guha has moved here today and put forward my submission. It is mentioned in the motion that the two Commissions so far appointed were unable to unveil the truth in their report to the people. As a result, doubt about this important chapter in the history of national struggle is yet to be dispelled in the minds of the countrymen. Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, Sir, as regards the important chapter in the history of national struggle, we are not so much assailed by doubt. Because, we will have to accept a yawning gap in this stage of struggle. But we are apprehensive of and anxious for the vital issue of this enquiry. All classes of people of our country are worried about and anxious for our beloved Netaji, who could not be traced any more after 15th August, 1947 Let there be a fullfledged enquiry about him. With that end in view I support this motion It is not unknown to anyone that the image of Netaji is still bright to the people all over the country Rabindranath, the great poet, said, "One of the wonderful activities of Netaji is to disappear from India". He crossed the insurmountable mountain-pass and ice-cold rivers and traversed dense forests and inaccessible passages and eventually reached Germany in disguise with a pseudonym. He organised Azad Hind Fauz there, and contacted the authorities of Germany and Italy for the sake of freedom of India. Then came the preparatory phase. Thereafter he ran the risk of crossing the inaccessible mountain-pass and moving under the sea he appeared at the battlefield in East Asia. Outside India, he proposed for the first time for the independence of India and organising a fighting army like Azad Hind Fauz under that Government, he made a glorious history of waging a struggle against the mightiest power of the world which left a deep impression in the minds of the countrymen. But long before these activities, Rabindranath, the great poet, with a vision of a seer, could assess him properly and bestowed upon him due honour. Long before these incidents, he hailed him as the great leader of the country and said "I am a Bengali poet. On behalf of Bengal, I hail you as the leader of the country." The Gita says, the preserver of the good appears once again when the country is landed in trouble. Then alone by the innate inspiration of the afflicted country the leader of the land emerges. Netaji Subhash Chandra has left deep impression in the minds of the countrymen and the saintly poet. And we, as the students of politics, have tried to follow him in the political sphere with the meagre strength of the common people of the country. We have

viewed him from a different standpoint. Treading sincerely in his footsteps as regards his ideology and political thought, what as students of politics we have felt can be expressed in the words of the great poet. It is felt that to get rid of the agony of cravings, the country, by its ceaseless inspiration, caused this leader to appear before the countrymen. In this connection, we will have to divert our mind for a while to another matter, and that is the accidental appearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra. I don't take this leader of the country as only a political leader. To me Netaji Subhash Chandra is the offshoot of the resurgence of the spirit that permeated the whole life of India following the Renaissance in the middle of 19th century, as a result of which an unprecedented upsurge of life marked all the fields like literature, science, philosophy, art, music and dance. We accepted Subhash Chandra as the spiritual son of Swami Vivekananda and I think that in order to fulfil his great incomplete task within the span of his life, Netaji Subhash Chandra appeared. The enquiry we demand of in this respect is necessary not so much to measure how much is the gap between the two phases of history as for the value of the thoughts of Subhash Chandra, the pioneer of India Renaissance. To our countrymen, we want to draw attention to that period of history, which rejuvenated old India and took efforts to move forward in a new direction. In this connection Rabindranath said, he tried to open up a new way by introducing the Upanishads into Indian life and accumulated the thoughts, ideas and spiritual knowledge of India to engraft them into Indian life afresh. I can say this to you without the least hesitation that it was due to him that India, deflected from its own path, has been able to restore its tradition and has tried to move along the traditional path. That is the road towards progress. Subhash Chandra, who treaded along Indian path, said this once again that on discovering the forgotten tradition of India, we have to march ahead and it is along that path that the overall welfare of the country will be achieved and complete freedom, which is not only political and economic, will be won. While delivering a lecture in Tokyo in 1944, he said that the civilisation of ancient India still exists. We have fundamentally the same thought, feeling and ideology which our predecessors had a few thousand years ago. He also said that there is a link existing of the continuity of cultural life of India since ancient times. He again said that to know India, this basic truth should be felt that India, as it was in ancient times, did not die. That ancient India exists in the present time and will exist in the future also. In order to review the history of political activities of Netaji Subhash Chandra, we will have to divide it into two parts. In the first part, it was the struggle against imperialism and in the second he said it once again clearly that after the freedom of India from the grip of imperialism, there would be the phase of reconstruction of our country. This reconstruction would be based on socialism and in respect of socialistic reconstruction, he stressed it that this idea of socialistic reconstruction would not originate from Marxism but from religion of love as expounded by Swami Vivekananda. And the source of philosophy of life of Netaji Subhash Chandra is traced to love of humanity and the idea of service to mankind of Swami Vivekananda If we discuss the philosophy of life of Subhash Chandra it will be clear to us that he accepted love as the essence of all religions and his time—the period following the Renaissance—enacted a significant role in Indian religion. Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, Sir, if you draw our attention to it, it will be evident that a unique harmony was brought about among Indian religion. Diverse human races converged on the sea-shore of the great humanity and each of them was transformed into an Indian race. Setting aside the differences of religion, they grew into a single nation, animated with a national feeling, a nation, which in spite of religious differences had unity in one respect and that is, they are Indian. It seems that they rose above the religious differences and established a human religion in India, which took into account the overall welfare of the

country through worship of human beings as God and through service to mankind. That is why we said, Netaji Subhash Chandra upheld Indian tradition. It is due to this, that the sudden disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra causes grave concern to us. He expressed the desire of establishing socialism in India. In his speech in Tokyo, he noted it clearly that class struggle was not inevitable on Indian soil. Through the freedom struggle, India will, as a nation, attain such a high standard of morality that the necessity of a conflict among brothers will be eliminated. Such a nation whose standard of morality has been raised will be able to do overall good to the country through its religion of love and service. During the struggle waged by Azad Hind Fouz in East Asia, as a result of war-time censorship of news, the chapters of the later life of Netaji remained almost unknown to us. The information about the next stage of the life of Netaji reached us later, when the war came to an end. We, the common people, could not collect satisfactory information about the great struggle which spoke volumes for Netaji's unique and superhuman activities. It was also because we were confined within the country. What was the activity of Azad Hind Fouz outside the country, how was their life and death struggle, how they came to India and how by sheer willforce and inspired patriotism they could hoist the flag of freedom on the Indian borders—the news regarding all these did not reach us. And there was a news broadcast by I.N.A. on 23rd August, 1945, that on 8th August, Netaji died by air-crash in Taihoku. We were surprised. All on a sudden, this news reached us like a bolt from the blue We were, rather, in a dubious mood. The other day, I laid stress on the fact that the novel implementation of the national culture has culminated in the Renaissance of the nation. This can never be an end to the life of Netaji, the sum-total of dedication to national life. I entertained doubt since that day. The image of Netaji acquires new dimensions as we learn, more and more, about the activities of himself and his I.N.A. and we have been trying to have a total idea about him. What is required today is an Enquiry Commission for finding facts about the death of Netaji—an impartial Enquiry Commission not dictated from outside regarding its verdict. For the two Commissions, constituted before, had no other alternative than to work under instructions imposed from above. On the one hand, Netaji projected his glorious image in the mind of the people, here and abroad and on the other, he was a terror to the English—the British Government considered him a number one enemy. At the same time, the self-seeking, power-loving group in the country has belittled Netaji Subhash Chandra's stature in the public mind and has taken repeated precautions to prevent his reappearance and any discovery of facts regarding him. It may, without the least shadow of doubt, be categorically asserted that the Nehru family, and particularly Pandit Nehru, the protagonist of the family, launched this drive. So Enquiry Commission—one or two in number—had to be set up on the persistent demand of the countrymen. Mr. H. V. Kamath, once, raised a question in the Lok Sabha and in reply to that question Jawaharlal Nehru said that Netaji died by aircrash at Taihoku. This was his official report as the Prime Minister of India and he was not, it seemed, to budge an inch from that stand. He knew it well that he might be dislodged from power if it was proved that Netaji was alive and Netaji staged a come-back on Indian soil. So Shah Nawaj Khan was cajoled to head a Commission, comprising three members—Shah Nawaj Khan himself, Suresh Chandra Bose, brother of Netaji and S. N. Maitra, I.A.S., ex-Commissioner of Andaman and Nicober. The report furnished by the Commission after an enquiry did not leave any doubt in our minds. But it was clear from Suresh Chandra Bose's dissenting report, analysing the main report of the enquiry, that the enquiry was not impartial and based on facts. It was intended to confirm the official report of Jawaharlal Nehru that Netaji died by Taihoku aircrash. They were compelled to furnish report in support of that report. It was tried, in various ways, to tempt and influence Suresh Babu but he could

not be moved. He has played a remarkable and glorious part in unveiling the truth. Jawaharlal Nehru was stiff in his attitude all through the tenure of his office. After that we found an external garb of progressive outlook in the first phase of Indira Gandhi regime. We were elated. We appealed to her, placed demand to her. As a result, a one-man Commission—the Khosla Commission—was appointed on 11th July, 1970. This Commission, too, was asked to act according to prior instructions. They could not move out of this orbit even if reason and facts dictated them. As per terms of reference Shah Nawaj Khan had enquired into the circumstances leading to the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Bangkok on 15th August and collect information about the subsequent aircrash at Taihoku. Similar terms of reference were laid down for the Khoshla Commission. Mr. Khoshla, along with the charge of heading this one-man Commission, was entrusted with two other Enquiry Commissions—enquiries regarding film and other allied matters. He was asked to write books.

So he had the prospect of earning a fabulous amount of money. He went on, but we know that Shri Amar Chakravorty, one of those who tried to find out truth, was denied passport when he decided to go to Japan. He had to go to Japan with the permission of the High Court. They demanded official records on Netaji but those were not supplied to them. They went there and collected information and the High Court took action. Indeed, nothing effective can be done from outside where the verdict has already been contemplated. Enquiry, worth the name, is not required there. Yet they conducted enquiry, took evidence from 224 witnesses with glaring inconsistency. Strangely enough, this mass of inconsistencies has led them to their verdict—the pre-conceived verdict. Practically, they cannot come to any conclusion. However, I am not going into details. It may be revealed that Netaji did not die by plane-crash at Taihoku. There are proofs enough to show that even the Taihoku aircrash did not occur. Subsequently, Shri Satyanarayan Sinha, the former M.P., went to Japan. He came back and said—he serialised his statement in the Ananda Bazar Patrika—that it had been proved that the so-called plane-crash in which Netaji was supposed to die did not occur at all. N Jini Babu has hinted that the British Cabinet did not recognise the death of Netaji in October, 1945. The Cabinet meeting was called on 25th October, 1945, at Claim Brown Street to decide the manner of trial of the Civilian and Military delegate, the manner and place of the trial of Indian delegates and Indian traitors and what leniency would be shown. Official records regarding transfer of power from 1942 to 1947, published from London, proclaim the so-called sudden death of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose on 28th August. And then on 25th October, 1945, the British Cabinet did not admit that Netaji died by aircrash on 25th October, 1945. They decided to try Netaji Subhash Chandra as a Civilian traitor. We have, at our disposal, some other discussions and decisions and those contain these facts. The remarks are very strange. In the enclosure of a letter from Sir Francis Mudie to Mr. Evan Jenkins, both occupying high offices in the Government of India at that time, dated 23rd August, 1945, Mudie dealt six possible alternatives to deal with Subhash Chandra Bose, his alternative being spelt out as: "Leave him where he is and do not ask for his surrender". The Taihoku plane-crash and the subsequent death occurred on 15th August. But how was it discussed in the sixth possible alternative on 25th October, 1945? Page Nos. 47, 139, 140, 186, 262, 263, 369, 372, 375, 388 and 389 of the official report contain a detailed discussion. It is written in page 144 "in many ways the easiest course could be to leave him where he is and not to ask for his release". What was the idea of British Government? If the question of his release arises, where was he confined? We call all these facts in question and we think that the enquiry regarding Netaji was not foolproof.

Very recently, some local inhabitants of Calcutta, Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, Shri Pratulla Chandra Sen, Dr. Sushil Kumar Mukherjee, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, Shri Samar Guha, M.P., a follower of Netaji, have raised issue of Netaji several times. They have asked for a fullfledged enquiry. Those enquiries were not fruitful and we, still, entertain doubt. So we have scope enough to declare those enquiry reports as false. Strangely enough, the evidence of the physician was recorded. But it was not tried to prove that the physician, in question, treated Netaji. No photograph of Netaji is available. Netaji died but no arrangement for the identification of his dead body was made. There is no flight document of the plane which took off at 2-30 hrs. No passenger came to bear witness to the effect that he was with Netaji or saw him injured. No enquiry about the accident was made. No hospital record is available. The history-sheet which was to be kept by the bed-side of the patient, Subhash Chandra, is missing. No ticket of the head is available. There was no permit of cremation or certificate of cremation. There was no official announcement of the death of Netaji Subhash Chandra. Still t was concluded that Netaji died by the aircrash at Taihoku. Shri Amar Chakraborty, who has been referred to in dissenting report of Shri Subhash Chandra Bose and who gave evidence in the enquiry, went there and asked the physician if Netaji received burns in the third degree and if his heart got burned. Amar Babu asked if it was a case of third degree burning of his heart how long he could live. The physician replied that it would result in immediate death. But how long did he survive? The aeroplane took off at 2-30 and Netaji is said to expire at 9 p.m. So, I have placed before you the necessary documents. Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, we demand an impartial enquiry which will not be merely a command performance and where there will be no such effort as to belittle Netaji. Nalini Babu has clearly told that the Khosla Commission has defied the terms of reference and has made derogatory remarks about Netaji. I consider this to be disgraceful to Netaji and to the nation as a whole. So we demand an impartial enquiry into the whereabouts of Netaji during his disappearance and his mission there. So, this House may appeal to the Central Government to arrange a fullfledged enquiry to unveil this mystery. With these words, I support this motion.

Dr. Zainal Abedin: Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir, I support the motion moved by the respected Nalini Kanta Guha. When crisis crops up in public life, people expect a great man who transcends the limits of society, time and space. Netaji was not only a politician or a rival of the mighty British. He was a symbol of the hopes and aspirations of India in bondage. So we feel proud as Bengalees. Netaji was probably the greatest and the most respected of a handful of Bengalees who had led India. He asserted his personality many a time by defeating the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi of the Congress. He, however, never belittled Mahatma Gandhi, rather he established that his patriotism was above everything else. While we were studying in the Medical College, Dr. Panchanan Chatterjee (Surgeon), who was very intimate with him, told a lot about him. It was a strong belief till the other day that Netaji was alive. There was a great deal of publicity and propaganda regarding the 'saint' (Sadhu) of Shoulmari. But the burning question regarding Netaji in the public mind should be resolved. The appearance of a great man s badly needed to resolve the crisis that India faces today. From this standpoint, we feel the necessity of a factual enquiry. Many people believe that ndia achieved freedom without bloodshed. Some others think that Indian ndependence is the result of the mixed struggle of bloody revolution and non-o-operation movement. But we have noticed that Netaji stood with an open word when the British branded the Indians as cowards. He proved that he Indians could shake the British seat of power if need be. From this

viewpoint, the whole of mankind will cherish the contribution of Netaji in the history of independence struggle. I do not enter into the debate whether the Commission was partial in its verdict. But I think that those who have clues about this matter may help in the process of enquiry and in this way they may enlighten the whole nation. We have noticed in the past that his contemporary political leaders, let alone the British rulers, tried to defame Netaji in various ways. We have come across some of the cartoons of that period. But the Bengalees have not accepted this notion. We know that everything is possible in politics. Those who inspired Netaji and helped him to give shape to their ideas have given up those ideas and embraced a different ideology. For this reason I am convinced that nothing is impossible in politics. Netaji's contribution is not limited to the freedom movement of India alone. We have found that Netaji has been a guide to those who are in bondage anywhere in the world. But we have found that unholy alliance is possible in politics.

(Shri Birendra Narayan Roy : You are not supposed to sermonise.)

I do not know why Biren Babu feels irritated. He was, probably, in favour of defaming Netaji.

Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir, veteran Nalini Babu and his men will decide what effective measures they would adopt to establish facts through enquiry and how they would translate their proposal into action. As things stand now in the House, after my speech I doubt if they, to whom the appeal is made, would sincerely give effect to the motion. Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir, the headlines in the first page of the Ananda Bazar Patrika give a brief summary of information regarding Netaji. Its purpose, I think, is to increase the possibility of getting more factual information in favour of the demand for the enquiry. All of you must have gone through the Ananda Bazar Patrika today. There is a great disparity between the activities and the words of the Emperors and their Viceroys regarding the actual events. We think that if we try sincerely we may get such reliable information. Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir, is it possible to set up such a Commission? A Commission has been set up to assassinate the character of the Congress. Will there be any scope left for setting up a Commission for enquiring into the death of Netaji? The question of priority may be raised. The recent debate in the Parliament shows that this all-India issue of the enquiry has not been given due importance. All the provinces are not raising the issue with equal importance. So I appeal to my colleagues to ensure that all the State legislatures and the Centre may be equally loud in their demand with all earnestness and sincerity. We do hope that the motion of the demand for an Enquiry Commission will be supported by the House wtihout any interruption or condition. We, further, hope that the Central Government will accept and implement the motion of the House for a Commission without waiting for an indefinite period. With this end in view, I, once again, support the motion. I thank my Hon'ble colleagues and the Deputy Speaker for providing me with an opportunity of speaking something today.

Shri Bhabani Mukherjee : Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, Sir, I fully support the motion of Shri Nalini Kanta Guha, M.L.A., for a fresh enquiry regarding the disappearance of Netaji, to be placed before the Government of India. Two other Enquiry Commissions were set up previously. But we find that the leading personalities, who were close to Netaji, entertain doubt about the activities, analyses and the verdicts of those two Enquiry Commissions.

Hence I hope that the Government of India would start an enquiry with due regard to the demand for the Enquiry Commission and put an end to all

misgivings and anxieties of the countrymen about it. Of course, the details of Netaji's life style or his position in our country is not the topic of discussion today, but at the same time we can hardly pass it over. For, he was one of those few brightest lumenaries who fought against the imperialists in the national struggle for independence of our country. And the manner in which he made attempts to lead his countrymen in different phases of this struggle transcended not merely the territorial barrier of India, but also created a stir in the international sphere. We know that the leaders who came as pioneers in the first struggle for independence of our country. We know that the leaders did not belong to the labouring class, as the struggle of the toiling masses of our country had not then attained the present-day level of advanced political maturity. Naturally it was a bourgeoise leadership that guided the movement at that time, and it was all along a policy of compromise that chiefly marked this leadership of the bourgeoise—a policy to make use of the people's support along with an attempt to reach a consensus by striking a bargain with the imperialists. We noticed this trend at that time, and alongside we also took note that the more the common people joined this national independence movement, the greater was the participation of the exploited toiling masses in that struggle. But this toiling class was guided by another leadership who stood by them day after day in that struggle for independence and at the same time maintained a different line a line against any compromise with the imperialists. A demand for the absolute freedom was also raised by severing off all kinds of ties with the imperialists. If we analyse the national movement during that period, we find two trends—one rightist and another leftist at work. Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was the man at the Steering who led the left force in their struggle. In 1930 the Civil Disobedience Movement started in the wake of the Round Table Conference, and as soon as the situation turned explosive, the British Government condiscended under the mounting pressure of the people to offer two kinds of proposals. This concession to some extent to right of self-determination in different provinces was nothing short of an attempt to keep intact the federal administrative set-up at centre. At that time we noticed, on the one hand, a tendency to rest contented with the federal system of Government, and a situation, on the other, with the ever-changing phases of the struggle on the eve of the impending Great War, ushering Netaji on the scene to launch a deadlier blow at imperialism in order to give a louder expression to the voice of struggle. The events during the time of Haripura Congress are still fresh in our memory. We can also recall how during the Tripura Session in 1939 he was re-elected President of the Congress for the second time by defeating the candidate of the Rightwingers. At that time the Rightists within the Congress were probably not cautious or vigilant. As Netaji represented the aspirations of the people, he brought about the defeat of his opponents and was elected. On being elected he was exploring chances to steer it on a massive scale for nation's independence. But on those days we saw that the leadership of the right forces grew active in their drive to render a democratically elected president of the National Congress quite a cipher, and ultimately to foil his attempt the A.I.C.C. session passed a resolution. It passed another resolution that Netaji would not be allowed without Gandhiji's permission to form any Working Committee. Thus, left with no alternative, he had ultimately to relinquish the office of President. Today among us here our friend of the Congress Party says that he has the deepest regard for Netaji and he has duly paid his homage. But they had better look back and re-assess their own role in the light of the political background. Perhaps they might forget that they finally ousted and expelled Netaji from the Organisation. At last when a War was declared, India faced quite a new situation. This state of

War notwithstanding, Netaji got the better of all the conspiracies hatched by the imperialists and disappeared from the country. He escaped by taking advantage of the clash of two imperialist blocs, and this he did possibly with an eye to the success of the country's freedom struggle. Historically, we, the Communists, believe that the war had its two stages. One was the stage of the imperialist war—the stage testifying to Lenin's slogan that an imperialist war is a civil war which is nothing but a strategy for internal freedom fight. Another was the stage of perennial imperialism to resist which it was essential to incite their loyal section of the army to revolt. Hence you may realise that with the step-by-step retreat of the old and time-honoured imperialism to the background he made attempts to disentangle the professionals wherever they had been, and succeeded in forming the I.N.A. But as ill luck would have it, the political situation took a turn and you know this. At that time we politically analysed the situation and came to the conclusion that the war assumed a new character when on 22nd June, 1941, the Fascists launched an attack on Soviet Russia. On that day the war wore a new feature which gave rise to a new force popularly known to be the Socialist Force. Obviously, it was this socialist power that in the Second World War spelled Hitler's defeat in the War of Stalingrad thus bringing a thorough change all over the globe. Thus through the liquidation of the Fascists, imperialists of the world were weakened and along with this the national struggle for independence was stepped up not only in our country but also in theirs, creating an unforeseen situation all over the world. It was a correct analysis of the war. There, too, the question of mounting movement with the help of Communist Party came. It is a fact that their ideology was not identical with that of the Communist Party, because we think that the said war reached a new level termed as 'people's war'. In later years historical events have indubitably confirmed the veracity of our analysis of the war long ago. We learnt that Netaji made it a scheme of his own to use the Fascists as serving his purpose. The nature of that Fascist power was clear to him, as was their tactics, and the report of the last years of his life authenticate the fact that he had been trying to steer clear of their clutches to land finally in Soviet Russia. We have it in that report that he made attempts to reach Russia which is the first ever socialist State which promoted the liberation movement of all the countries and which defeated Hitler's fascism in the Second World War, thereby paving the way for the liberation of the common exploited mass all over the world. Hence I would not dwell any more on this and merely add that Netaji acted as a very great source of inspiration in our struggle for the country's emancipation and that he was held in great esteem as a patriot who led this battle against the imperialists. Men of this country, by remembering him, derive much zeal and inspiration from the firmament of imagination. I close my speech extending support to the demand for an enquiry about him.

Shri Nirmal Kumar Bose : Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir, Veteran Shri Nalini Kanta Guha, one of the members of the House, a veteran revolutionary and an associate of Netaji, has moved a motion to unveil the mystery of Netaji's disappearance, and I support this motion. I am glad that all parties and groups of the House have conveyed their support to this motion and I am sure that we would be able to accept it unanimously. Not only that, an identical motion moved recently in Lok Sabha by Professor Samar Guha has derived the support of all the parties in Parliament. As I noticed this, I now hope, too, that the nation as a whole would reach a consensus in the matter.

Sir, Netaji Subhash Chandra Basu led the freedom struggle not merely in India, but fought a total war to end colonialism everywhere. The historians of modern times have remarked that it was due to Netaji and the activities of the Azad Hind Fauj that the anti-colonial struggles in the countries in South-East Asia grew stronger and they attained independence after the Second

World War. Besides winning the independence of India he struggled with the mission to set up a socialist Republic in free India where it would all be a rule of the people consisting of the peasantry and the working class. The Hon'ble Minister Shri Bhabani Mukherjee said that during the Second World War Netaji Subhash Chandra Basu was rather constrained in collaborating with Germany and Japan and this might, to some extent, make him little hesitant or reluctant. But Netaji then made it clear that he would take any help whatsoever to put an end to British rule. His object was to land in Soviet Union, and he made contacts even to that end. But because of the change in War situation the Soviet Union had by that time joined the British camp, and he came to Germany to take help from the Germans in his anti-British moves. Still, during his stay in Germany he was all against Fascism and opposed Hitler. When he saw that Hitler would not come round to his views, he left Germany and arrived in Japan. There, too, he never lent his support to the policies of Japan. At the end of the War the G.D.R., a democratic Government, was born and the facts that came out from the archives of that country have undoubtedly established that Netaji did never accept the political creed of Germany and Japan, though he asked for their help. Rather his views were in consonance with the socialist Soviet Union, and he tried to keep up this friendship with them. Even when he was about to leave Germany, he left behind his order to the Soldiers of the Indian Legion in Germany ever to fight against the Soviet Union, and India's freedom-fighers tried to the last day to carry out this responsibility.

Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, why this motion arises for a fresh Commission today when two other Commissions had already functioned? It is because no efforts were made by Shah Nawaj Committee and Khosla Committee to reveal the truth. In every aspect it was a foregone conclusion from the very beginning. They were tutored to establish that Netaji died in the aircrash that took place in Taihoku on 18th August, 1945. Its prosecution had already been a pre-arranged affair. Then they were asked to write a book on so-called aircrash death. In the three-Member Shah Nawaj Committee there were Messrs. Shah Nawaj Khan, S. R. Moitra and Suresh Chandra Basu. Mr. Basu differed with the majority opinion. Since Shah Nawaj Khan and S. R. Moitra maintained that Netaji had died in Taihoku aircrash, the former became a Minister of the Central Government and the latter was made the Chief Commissioner of Andaman and Nicober Islands. Thus they were rewarded. And what about Khosla Committee? Indian people did not believe the report of Shah Nawaj Committee. Hence their resentment grew high and under its pressure Indira Government was ultimately compelled to appoint another Commission. But even Mr. Khosla was directed to substantiate Netaji's death. Who is this Khosla? Sasabinda Babu has referred to his intimacy with Mrs. Indira Gandhi. While Mr. Khosla was on the Commission, he was writing a biography of Indira Gandhi. With the appointment of the Commission he had been drawing his remuneration; it was undue on his part to devote to any other job. Nevertheless, he engaged himself in writing the biography of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. What does this report of the Khosla Committee contain? Why at the outset he said Nehru knew that he had died. Mr. Khosla even quoted an extract from Nehru's writing only to conclude that 'Nehru appointed the enquiry Committee to show his respect to the people's democratic demand and not an admission of his disbelief in the plane-crash'. Though he knew that Netaji died and that he had no disbelief, he appointed the Enquiry Committee. Hence it is clear that Shah Nawaj Committee acted on what Mr. Nehru directed it in consonance with his pre-conceived notion. Plenty of Mr. Khosla's remarks would subsequently follow. Let me cite some instances to point out the glaring contradictions in this Khosla Committee Report. It has been repeatedly said that the plane-crash

was a got-up affair. It was only a part of a greater scheme. This got-up incident was intended to throw dust in the eyes of the Anglo-American Bloc, and Mr. Khosla said in his report: "If there was a plan like this, it is a very strong argument against the findings of the Shah Nawaj Committee." Had there been any such plan intended to dupe the Anglo-American Bloc, it cannot substantiate the plan of his disappearance referred to by the Shah Nawaj Committee. This was told by Mr. Khosla, but again in his report it was mentioned that the evidences given by the distinguished persons about such plans could not be held as baseless. So the facts arrived at before Mr. Khosla reveal one thing, and the conclusion drawn by him is diametrically opposite. His verdict was that Netaji died in the Taihoku plane-crash on 18th August, 1945. Now, did such an accident referred to occur at all? I shall not go into the details, as time is limited. Such a crash never occurred. On that day from Taihoku no plane took off. As such, there was no occurrence of the said crash. No such fact was submitted, nor was there any evidence to testify that a certain co-passenger had marked Subhash Chandra lying injured. The only exception was Habibur Rehman. And the story of Habibur Rehman was a part of a Master Plan which referred to what was scheduled to be done. On 17th August, the day before the so-called aircrash, when Netaji was in session with the local officers chalking out the strategy, there was only one Indian present there and he was none but Col. Habibur Rehman. As he was a part of the whole scheme, he could not help saying this. No other person uttered such things. No other witness said that he had seen Netaji on the spot succumbing to burns received in the crash. The Japanese, all men of distinction, told that they had no such personal knowledge of Netaji dying in the like manner. Who are they? Among the Japanese Officers and the Chief Military Executives of that time mention is made of General Fujiwara, Mr. Tadachi Ando, Lt. Col. Tadas Sakai, Mr. Negichi, Mr. Hachia, Lt. Col. Takamia, Col. Nanogaki, Mr. Watanaby, Major Takahasi, Lt. General Isoda, Lt. Col. Shibua. In their evidences they said that they had fio personal knowledge of Netaji's death from the plane-crash. No photograph of the deadbody was available. It is strange that a certain doctor gave different statements in different times. To the Anglo-American Agency he said one thing, to Shah Nawaj Committee another, and to the Khosla Committee it was again a different version. Each statement was different from the other having no speck of identity between them. In Taiwan, Pritam Singh said in his deposition that the Mayor of Taipeh informed him that on 18th August there was no occurrence of plane-crash of any sort. It is really strange that being the Chief of the Azad Hind Government Netaji deserved the honour and status of the head of the State; yet following his death no military guard of honour was given, neither wreaths placed, nor any news published. Some days later Mr. S. A. Ayer, the Minister for Publicity of the Azad Hind Government, published a statement which, too, was a part of the plan. So this sort of thing can never be believed. More strange is that no death certificate was available. Long after this a death certificate was produced. What was in it? Really funny. It said that none by the name of Subhash Chandra died. It was a Japanese, Itihora Okura by name, who actually died. In a letter to Mr. A. K. Dar, First Secretary, Embassy of India, Tokyo, Mr. Hisji Hatory, Chief of Foreign Section, Asian Affairs Bureau, wrote that from circumstantial evidences he merely conjectured that this Itihora Okura might have possibly died. Trichino Opura died of a heart attack, and Subhash Chandra Basu died of burns. Both the name and the cause of death are quite different. An attempt was made to pass another man's death certificate for that of Netaji. So the first thing is that on 18th August no plane-crash occurred at all; still the Shah Nawaj Committee and the Khosla Committee in their reports declared the death of Netaji in the plane-crash. But such an

accident did never occur. What was the necessity for concocting such a scheme of an aircrash? The reason is very clear. It was Japan's surrender, and not merely that; Netaji sensed beforehand that it was not possible for Germany and Japan to win the war. And in 1942 he told Admiral Canaras in Germany that they would not win this war. Shah Nawaj Khan himself said to the Khosla Committee that in a Cabinet meeting of the Azad Hind Government Netaji Subhash Chandra Basu remarked that both Germany and Japan would not be able to emerge victorious in that war. So he planned earlier what he would undertake after their defeat for the sake of the continuance of India's freedom struggle. His contact man was Anandamohan Sahay who was then the Minister of the Azad Hind Government and later became India's Ambassador elsewhere. He is still alive. His evidence was that Netaji contacted China and Ho-Chi-Minh of Indo-China, and that he had a plan to visit China, Indo-China and Russia whence he could guide the struggle for India's freedom. In a letter to General Thiby, Mr. Bhaskaran, Netaji's Private Secretary, also said this. He wrote in that letter that he knew of the probable aircrash. So on the eve of his departure it was said that he would die in the plane-crash. Nothing of this sort can ever happen without a preconceived plan of aircrash. At that time Mr. Teruchi held the status equal to that of McArthur, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in South-East Asia. His personal staff some Taga said that on behalf of Teruchi. He stated that the Government of Japan would make all arrangements for his departure. And all arrangements were made by the Japnaise Government to execute the promise.

The two Committees gave the same verdict that Netaji died on 18th August, 1945. But does anyone believe these reports? Let alone that, even the then officials of the British and the American Governments did not believe this. I submit here a fact. Shri S. Majumdar, who was a special officer of the Intelligence Cell of the Bengal Government or rather the Bengal Government of unliberated India told during his deposition that in September, 1945 or a month later two investigating teams were sent from Calcutta to Bangkok to enquire into the matter. Shri H. Roy, an officer of this team, remarked during his witness, "We were sent to arrest Netaji".

On 18th August Netaji died and in the month of September instructions were sent to investigating officials comprising of H. Roy and others to arrest Netaji. Another Kalipada Dey of the team of detectives later mentioned in his report that he could not arrive at any decision and that he got no proof of Netaji's death. The team of investigation deputed by Bengal Government from Calcutta arrived at this decision that Netaji did not die and that his arrest was essential. What does this prove? What did the then Governor-General of India Mr. Wavel say? His words disclose that Mr. Wavel did not believe this incident. He disbelieved that Netaji died in the plane-crash. What Mr. Wavel thought has been published in the 'Dist. Journal', and in its page No. 164 Mr. Wavel says, "I wonder if the Japanese announcement of Subhash Chandra Bose's death in an aircrash is true, I suspect it very much, it is just what would be given out if he meant to go underground". Mr. Wavel writes in his diary on the 24th August, 1945, that none believes in the death of Subhash Chandra; this death report has been used as a camouflage of his escape. Did Mountbatten, who was a very reputed military Chief of this time, believe it? No, even he didn't believe it. What is found in his diary? In his diary he reports : "DMI states when Bose was preparing to leave Burma with his family by plane, Chinese intercepted Japanese message ordering Bose to separate from his family and remain in Burma. DMI's supposition is that though Bose's family were in the plane that crashed, Bose was not there and he subsequently escaped into Thailand. DMI has no evidence other than the intercept but is still convinced that he is correct."

This report dates back to the 17th October. 1945. Mountbatten writes in his diary that accordnig to DMI report, Subhash Chandra is not dead. Is not it a sufficient evidence? None of them believed this information and facts that have come to light recently are very significant. Shri Nalini Guha and Shri Sasabindu Bera have already put forward them. I am reproducing some important information which was totally absent in the reports of Khosla Committee and Shah Nawaj Committee. What is found in the Transfer of Power, Vol. 6, pages 42-47, published from Her Majesty's Stationery Department by the British Government? In a certain report dated the 23rd August, 1945, it has been clearly mentioned that Netaji is not dead and it is clear from a letter written by Sir F. Modi to Jenkins that they will have to think over the measures to deal with Subhash Chandra as a war criminal. Subhash Candra died on the 18th August, but on 18th January/December (Sic) Sir F. Modi wrote to Jenkins that British Government was considering what to do with regard to Subhash Chandra. If Subhash Chandra is tried in India, as a war criminal there will be agitation in the country and if he is tried abroad, it will give rise to disturbances. So they finally decided to detain him where he was. This fact is published in the 'Transfer of Power', vide page 42-47. Something more significant is the meeting of the British Cabinet held on 25th October, 1945. What is found there? Who were present in the Cabinet meeting of India and Burma Committee, item No. 158? Mr. Atlee Chaired the meeting. Sir Staford Cripps, Lord Pethic Lawrence, Mr. G. H. Hall, Mr. H. Hall, Mr. A. H. Anderson, Mr. Armstrong, Mr. Gibson were present there. The point of discussion there was, how, of all the captives, the only civilian renegade Subhash Chandra was to be dealt with and they were much concerned over it. Don't these facts establish that the reports of Shah Nawaj Committee and Khosla Committee are not at all acceptable?

Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, so the question is—why such things have been done? Why Mr. Nehru and his daguhter Mrs. Indira Gandhi have tried to prove, despite contrary facts that Netaji had died in Taihoku aircrash? The reason is psychological. Both Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra moved the proposal for complete independence for India in the Calcutta Congress in 1928. But what happened afterwards? Both of them came forward to lead the leftist movement; Subhash Chandra always remained in the forefront of the leftist movement, while Jawaharlal all along submitted himself to the rightist group. We have witnessed such things all along. We have noticed that in 1946/47. Nehru advanced in the way to conciliation and along with Mountbatten partitioned India and brought Commonwealth freedom to India. But Netaji and his INA remained in the forefront of struggle against the British Imperialists. So Jawaharlal Nehru could not afford to stand leftist Subhash Chandra. So, today, there is room for this suspicion. The cause for this thought is that Mountbatten, who trampled down the monument in honour of the martyrs of Azad Hind Fouz in Singapur, was very very close to Nehru at the time of transfer of power, and they together took a stand against Netaji. Now, when we are in search of the whereabouts of Netaji, the immense damage caused afterwards to him by the conspirators must be revealed. So this manipulation has been done by Jawaharlal Nehru, the friend of Mountbatten, and by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the daughter of Nehru.

The Nehru regime is over. Now, the new Janata Government is in power and we shall hope that after the change of Nehru complex, the new Government will do something new in regard to Netaji. Sir, new information is now available. Shri Charan Singh, the Central Home Minister, has reported that hitherto unpublished facts, which were held by the British Government in India and which were never placed before any Commission, were being published recently. We may get information of greater significance from such facts. We, therefore, demand for a new Commission. But it is needless to

llect new witness and to revisit all the places. Let us consider the facts and information which were submitted before these two Commissions and which were not received from the Government uptill now. Sir, it will be evident from those facts that Netaji did not die in the Taihoku aircrash. Then let us ascertain what followed afterwards--Where is Netaji and what did happen to him, etc. Now, let us serve the national duty, shelved so long, by unearthing the mystery and by instituting a new Commission and mobilising public opinion for it throughout India.

Shri Jayanta Kumar Biswas: Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir, veteran Nalini Kanta Guha, a member of the House, has taken lead in serving the national duty by demanding probe into the mystery of disappearance of Netaji. So, at first, I thank him. Sir, the role of Netaji in the history of the freedom movement in India and in the fight against colonialism will remain ever resplendant like a bright star. Sir, as sunlight can't be warded off with the hands, Netaji's fighting role also can't be belittled whatsoever. I have gone through the reports of Khosla Commission and Shah Nawaj Commission. There is inconsistency and contradiction in those reports and anyone, who carefully goes through them, will realise that there is a bias to reach a certain conclusion prompted by an obsession that they have got to arrive at a certain conclusion. Sir, before referring to that I like to say another thing. Now, despite paying tribute to Netaji, what Hon'ble Bhabani Mukherjee sought to drive home is that Netaji took shelter in the Fascist camp. Sir, I am opposing his contention in that connection, because I think there is no basic difference between Fascism and Imperialism politically and economcially. Fascism is the naked dictatorship of finance capital and Imperialism is the veiled dictatorship of finance capital. Sir, Netaji Subhash Chandra dreamt of the freedom of India from the bondage of subjugation. Naturally, he took the heroic role for expediting the freedom movement of India by making use of the conflict between Fascist camp and Imperialist camp and quite naturally he devoted himself to the task of organising freedom struggle in the way directed by the course of history. Netaji moved in the right way. Sir, he was one of the mass leaders of India, he was the leader of the country in the true sense. Naturally, he did not commit any mistake in ascertaining the course of history. Sir, at present, irrespective of party and opinion, millions of Indians are respectful to Netaji. It is true, there was a time when due to ideological differences, people of different political colours in India had reservation about Netaji. But rising above all those differences the image of the militant career of Netaji still radiates before the people of India like sunny morning. So, we see today that the leaders, to whom Netaji was unwelcome, expelled Netaji and it is they, who being respectful to Netaji and irrespective of partisan opinions, have been loud in voicing demand for a full probe into Netaji and this demand echoes the sentiment of toiling masses, the middle class and lower middle class of India. Goeth, the wise, has said, what has very often been stressed by Lenin, the great revolutionist, that theory is grey, green is eternal life. That realism is manifest in the struggling life of Netaji which is fresh in our mind and which the source of inspiration in our life's journey. We shall have to take the lead in setting up the Investigation Committee to unravel the mystery about Netaji and the accident in Taihoku airport which the Indians and the then politicians and leaders did not accept as believable at all. In 1945, Gandhiji remarked that he would not believe in the death of Netaji even if the funeral ashes were presented before him and later on in 1962 Pandit Nehru wrote to the family of Sarat Chandra Bose that there was ample scope for doubt regarding the news of Netaji's death that had gained currency for long. In the A.I.C.C. meeting in Bombay Maulana Azad opposed in raising the condolence proposal for Netaji. In all the cases it is noticed that not only the leaders but also the people were

'suspicious about the nature of Netaji's death. Hon'ble Nirmal Babu has proved that there was contradiction in the report of the Khosla Commission. I am not going to repeat it. If we examine the reports carefully we shall find that it is not possible to reach a conclusion from the paradoxical and contradictory arguments. Naturally, as we demand the investigation concerning the mystery of Netaji's death, so it is also our national duty to make the historical evaluation of Netaji and establish it in its fitting place. I have heard of distorting the history in the time capsule by the former self-styled empress Indira Gandhi. We have heard that the images of distinguished luminaries of national struggle have been tarnished. We apprehend Netaji Subhash Chandra has been denied his due place. I, being a teacher and teaching being my profession, have seen that Netaji is underestimated in the pages of history. Naturally, we fear that the history of the national movement is not properly recorded in the time capsule. The role of Netaji has not been properly evaluated. So we shall demand the men in power in Delhi unearth the time capsule. I like to contend that the time capsule be unearthed and the contents there be revealed and the people who intended to pass for leaders to the posterity be accused of distorting history and put to the dock. I plead that a resolution be adopted in the Assembly to unshroud the mystery over Netaji's death and at the same time to reassess the historic, resolute and bright role of Netaji played in the freedom struggle, in the battle against colonialism, in breaking the shackles of slavery. With these, I conclude, thanking you.

Shri Shaikh Imajuddin : Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir, I want to say something by extending my full support to the motion of veteran Nalini Kanta Guha, a Member of the House, regarding the investigation about the disappearance of Netaji in the airport of Taihoku in Formosa. We know about Netaji's effort and struggle to free India and they are still fresh in our memory. He went outside India, to Japan. He fought against the established British Empire in India with the help of the Japanese and Indian soldiers. The sun in the British Empire would never set. We can still remember vividly the role of Netaji in defeating the British power and making India free. There are grave doubts in the minds of the people regarding the dished out story about the death of Netaji in Taihoku airport and which was the basis of conclusion drawn by the Khosla Commission and Shah Nawaj Committee. So, in the new changed circumstances fresh investigation is necessary in that matter. The people, for any reason whatsoever, could not afford to believe the reports submitted by the two Enquiry Commissions during the former regime however faithful and honest they might have been. So, in the changed circumstances there is the need for instituting new investigation by setting up new Commission in the new attempt on the part of the new Governments at the Centre and in the State who have come to power with new image and that investigation is expected to be full and believable. Many in this country still believe that he is not dead. The report of his death is totally cooked up. Many speakers who spoke before in this regard said that it was pre-planned. Therefore there is the need for investigation into this. Still people do not give any credence to it and very often get puzzled by the reports published in various newspapers and journals. Hence the need for publishing a report in this matter after making a full enquiry. There is a report published in the Statesman that Professor Samar Guha has claimed for an investigation and he has given letters to the Chief Ministers of different States to bring a proposal in this matter and in that connection Nalini Kanta Guha, our Hon'ble Member, has moved an elaborate proposal today. We genuinely support that proposal. I hope, none will hold a different view. Netaji was born on the 23rd January, 1897. Were he still alive, his age would have been eighty years - just crossed eighty. If he lives—granted that it is not an absurdity—we

hall be glad if we find a true picture about him. We shall heartily welcome im. We should know whether he is killed in a plot. If so, we should also now the people who are responsible for that. So there is special reason for ıvestigation and we shall certainly be happy if the actual ict is revealed after proper investigation and then our doubts ı that matter will be removed. With this, I conclude my statement.

Shri Sambhu Charan Ghosh : Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir, I shall say ımething in support of the motion moved by veteran Shri Nalini Kanta Guha, senior member of the Assembly, regarding the mystery of Netaji's dis-ppearance. To begin with, I want to place my clear statement regarding ıe two points before speaking on the motion moved here about the mystery Netaji's disappearance. First on Netaji's idea about international situa-on and secondly the attitude of the Nehru Rami's towards Netaji. If we ve adequate knowledge about these two matters, discussion about Netaji's eath and about the Enquiry Committee or Commission will help us.

In the beginning, there are some vague notions in the different quarters ıout Netaji's outlook regarding international situation. Netaji Subhash handra, in his book "Indian Struggle," has referred a thing very clearly that e Marxist philosophy of the 19th century and the October Revolution of oviet Russia in the 20th century have enriched the history of civilization. the following years we find that these things were reflected in all the ıases of his life. In the non-conformist meeting at Ramgarh in 1940, Netaji ecretly discussed with his very close associates and framed the plan. Then ıe war set in. In any way it was possible to extricate the freedom struggle f India with the help of Soviet Russia. With that end in view Lala Sankar al, the distinguished Forward Block leader of Delhi, was sent to Japan to ırrespond with the Soviet Embassy. Netaji was in jail when Lala Sankar al returned after contacting the Soviet Embassy in Japan. Lala Sankar Lal ported Sarat Chandra Bose about Netaji's plan and the consent of Soviet ussia. Sarat Chandra Bose communicated that message to Netaji in jail. he plan was ready and then he was released from jail on account of illness. nd then he disappeared from the country. Soviet Russia was his destina-on. His purpose was to lead India's freedom struggle, building up his base ıere. But when he was getting ready to start for his destination from Kabul, e got a message from Soviet Russia that the situation had changed. Soviet ussia had, by that time, forged an alliance with the U.K. and the U.S.A. to ght fascism. So, Soviet Russia was then not in a position to render direct ısistance to India's freedom struggle. In that context, Netaji Subhash handra changed his way and formed the Azad Hind Fouz with the assistance Germany and Japan. Many people opine that Netaji might have, at that me, some hesitancy and confusion in his mind. But Netaji had repeatedly ıade it very much clear that he had never declared war on Soviet Russia ıd that he did never want it. He said that he had joined hands with scist forces only as a matter of strategy. When the Azad Hind Govern-ent was installed on the 21st October, 1943, Netaji stated it unequivocally ıat he would never declare war on Soviet Russia and that there had cropped ɔ difference of opinion in between him and Hitler regarding the issue. He ıok the help of the fascist powers only as a matter of strategy, as a mere eapon. We have seen the same thing during different movements of the orld, different movements of the working class as also during Socialistic ruggles. This also happened in Lenin's case. In October, 1917, during the ception of the October Revolution, Lenin had been in exile in Germany. ut just before the outbreak of the Revolution, Lenin reached the Soviet ɔrders taking the help of the imperialist Government of Germany. Lenin ıok that help as a matter of strategy to reach the Soviet borders. In that ıse, seeking such help was a strategy or, in other words, he took such help ith the intention to pilot a socialistic movement. Netaji Subhash Chandra

Bose also took that help as a matter of strategy, his main purpose being to liberate India. That is why he left India and undertook various programmes of action to speed up India's national struggle and captained it. At that time, during the war he was reported to have analysed the international situation and told Shah Nawaj that the Axis powers would lose the war in October-November, 1944 and the Anglo-American Alliance would carry the day. His apprehension came true. Shah Nawaj had told it before the Commission. As a matter of fact, he was sanguine of the outcome of the war and had accordingly evolved his plan and decided to carry on his activities in consonance with it. The rumour spread in the meantime that he had died in an aeroplane accident at Taihoku on 18th August, 1945 and it was given wide publicity. What I am going to state now is based on evidence. Only a few months back, a valuable book was published from Britain. It contains all the official documents regarding that particular phase of India's freedom struggle, and reveals that on 26th August Mr. R. M. Modi wrote a 'top secret' letter to Mr. Jenkins, Home Department, after Netaji's death had been announced. It was announced that Netaji had died on 18th August and on 26th August Mr. Modi, from Home Department, Viceroy's House, Delhi, wrote in his letter: "I have examined your suggestions that Mr. Bose be treated as 'War Criminal'." Yes, Mr. Modi wrote thus; and in an annexure to the letter he had stated that some steps be taken against Mr. Bose and his affairs be thought over. He had also stated that, in view of "Boses influence over the I.N.A.", any immediate step against him would have serious repercussions. He had told of Mr. Bose's influence in Bengal's politics and in the secret document concerning that, he said, "All this is in addition to his already great prestige as an Indian nationalist figure in his own country. To the youth of Bengal and to terrorists, in particular, he is and has long been a source of inspiration." Mr. Modi's letter described Subhash Chandra as a source of inspiration to the youth community of Bengal.

Deputy Speaker: The time allotted was two hours. It terminated at 3-12 p.m. I think, the time should be extended. To facilitate discussions, I extend half an hour's time. I hope, the House would agree to it.

Shri Shambhu Charan Ghosh: It had been stated in the annexure that some measures might be taken against Subhash Chandra if he came back to India. Five alternatives had been suggested therein: he could be brought back to the country and tried; he could be detained and tried abroad; he could be kept in confinement abroad; he could be interned in the country or he could be allowed to remain wherever he might have been and no direction telling him to surrender was required to be issued. One of the five alternatives stated in the secret circular speculated on what might happen in the event of his confinement abroad. It stated, "There is more to be said for detention or internment somewhere out of India, out of sight would be to some extent out of mind and agitation for his release might be less. Also, escape to Russia would be difficult". So, it transpires that the imperialist powers were kept informed of his approach to Soviet Russia and it is with this import that I started my speech. For that reason, they stated in the secret circular that his detention abroad would put an end to the possibility of his going to Soviet Russia. The secret circular contained that note. The book, referred to, reveals many facts and information such as Taihoku aeroplane accident on 18th August, the secret circular dated 26th August and a circular dated 30th August, 1945. The last one contains some references to the All India Forward Bloc. The secret circular of the Government of India, which had been submitted to the British Government, contains at one place: "Confirmation of the recent Japanese report of the death of Bose in an aeroplane accident is still awaited." So, it appears that on 30th August, the Government of India had submitted a confidential report about the All India Forward Bloc to the British Government. The last part of that report

stated that the Japanese propaganda was not based on evidence. As a matter of fact, the book contains all the recently circulated statements contrary to the propaganda relating to the incident of 18th August. Again, on 2nd September, 1945, Sir J. Colville, from Viceroy's House, New Delhi, sent a private and secret report to Lord Pathick Lawrence (Sic). His report contained references to Nehru's attitude. Nehru could make up his mind still then and he was also anxious about the issue. The report stated, "Bose has come in for much praise as a national hero, and the nationalist press is suggesting that under international law Bose and his followers are entitled to all the honours of war and are not liable to punishment". So, it is crystal clear that at that time different nationalist newspapers were at first all praise for him and the report to the effect that no measures be taken against him was being submitted to the Department concerned of the British Government. So, we find that they had attached importance to the report of 2nd September and had expressed concern over all the facts and information regarding it. Afterwards on 20th October, 1945, a secret circular there suggested that they could be branded as renegades or traitors outside India and beyond Indian borders. The report submitted by the Government of India contained a statement that 87 persons had thus been included in a list and they might be branded as traitors and it was told therein : "The list of suspects prepared by the Government of India numbers 87, 12 of whom including Subhash Bose whose death is presumed were recorded as the more serious cases". So, it appears that though the authorities included Subhash Bose's name in that list of 87 persons and presumed his death, they were not sure about it. Because of lack of time, I am not in a position to quote more excerpts. But on the whole, I want to submit this before the House that aftermath of the event of 18th August, 1945, is being unravelled before us, especially by the recently published and greatly esteemed books containing real information. All these books disclose that long after 18th August, they had continued to admit that Subhash Chandra was alive and expressed concern regarding his case. The question, now, arises whether the Congress Government had not kept itself informed of all this. Why were the Shah Nawaj Committee and the Khosla Commission formed despite this? My friend Prof. Nirmal Bose has said that they had been plagued by rivalries and political tensions between them within the country. Yet it is not the whole truth and it needs further elaboration. It should be made clear that the Nehru family had nurtured an allergic attitude towards Netaji. They could not tolerate him. It had been seen that when Netaji gave vent to his progressive ideas Nehru had stood by him, but the moment Gandhiji gave him a backward pull Nehru deserted him. If we read "Bunch of Letters" compiled by Nehru, we will see that Netaji once unambiguously told Nehru that he could not understand what he was. He could not understand whether he was a rightist or a leftist. At last, he had come to the conclusion that, in his view, Nehru appeared to be a centrist; i.e., he sometimes spoke of progress and socialism and sometimes again he could be seen ready to dedicate his all to everything conceivable. That is why he could not understand him. In Netaji's view Nehru was a centrist. In spite of all this, Netaji had persistently tried to give him his due honour and political prestige. On the other hand, Nehru had always opposed him in the political field. To be sure, he could not stand the situation when Netaji went outside India and when his prestige and glory reached the high summit in general estimation following this. In order to tarnish his image before the countrymen, he had set up the Shah Nawaj Committee and the Khosla Commission. All the evidences given before the Shah Nawaj Committee and the Khosla Commission went into producing a verdict glaringly contrary to those evidences. If an impartial judge is appointed to decide in this case only on the strength of the evidences,

we will get an absolutely different verdict. For this reason, we suggest that an impartial judge be appointed only to judge the evidences as there is hardly any likelihood of a new Commission being set up because of the fact that the event had taken place long ago and the witnesses also have died. Let him analyse the evidences and endeavour to come to a new decision. The countrymen will be pleased at this and see how the Shah Nawaj Committee and the Khosla Commission had confused the countrymen and how they had tried to deliver a completely wrong verdict only to incur the pleasure of the Nehru clan. I am not speaking much about the Khosla Commission. Comrade Nirmal Bose has said that he knows the real nature of Mr. Khosla. While he was framing the Khosla Commission's report he had concurrently been writing a biography of Mrs. Gandhi. We know his character as it was revealed in his remark that "Kissing is allowed in the screen" in his report of the Commission that was appointed to assess how much freedom of expression could be granted to the films and to probe the matter of obscenity and propriety in Indian films. So, there is nothing surprising in such a report which came from a man of such depraved tastes who can be regarded plunged in skin-deep perversion. So, without prolonging my speech, I only endorse the motion that has been moved and while supporting it, we will request the Union Government on the strength of this motion to appoint an impartial judge to assess in a new manner the evidences given before the Khosla Commission and the Shah Nawaj Committee and to record the evidences of those living in a new manner if deemed necessary. Efforts should be taken to throw new light on the mystery involving Netaji's death and disappearance to apprise the people. With these words, I endorse the motion.

Shri A. K. M. Hassan Uzzaman: Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, Sir, I endorse motion put forward by the Hon'ble Member Mr. Nalinikanta Guha. Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was an unparalleled personality of India and both the Hindus and the Muslims held him in great esteem. I do not want to make a lengthy discussion here about his life. But we have seen that because of his dynamism as a statesman he came into conflict with Mahatma Gandhi, for which, on his election to the Congress Presidency, Mahatma Gandhi had said, "Pattavi Sitaramaiah's defeat is my defeat". Everybody then respected Netaji because he was inspired with nationalist ideals and sought to build a secular India. The Muslims of India, in particular, respected him more because Netaji had tried to solve the problems afflicting the Muslims. Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose realised the true spirit of secularism inherent in the co-existence of diverse languages and creeds which means unity in diversity. He made this attempt and like other leaders he sought to free India and at the same time tried to solve the problems plaguing the minority Muslims. To cite an example, it may be said that when disturbances cropped up in the Calcutta Corporation, he, as a pioneer of Hindu-Muslim amity, gave the formula that a Hindu Mayor and a Muslim Deputy Mayor be elected to the Calcutta Corporation and the following year they would be replaced by a Muslim Mayor and a Hindu Deputy Mayor. For this reason, he nominated Mr. Asrafuddin Chowdhury as the General Secretary to the Forward Bloc when he left Congress to form the Forward Bloc. We see, for that reason, that right from Colonel Habibur Rehman to Shah Nawaj, many Muslims were among his most intimate associates in the Azad Hind Fouz. When the Muslims objected to the song "Bande Mataram"—and they had sufficient reasons to object to it—he chose the Hindi translation of the national anthem, "Jana Gana Mana Adhinavaka" which was, "Subha Sukh Barsa Garaja". For that reason Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose still stimulates us and his famous song "Kadam Kadam Barave Ja" still exercises the same effect on us. Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, as we know, was the only man who walked barefoot to Bahadur Shah's Mazar to pay his respects. I do not want to speak much of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and his personality. It is true that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was,

in the real sense of the term, the pioneer of Hindu-Muslim amity. He is a statesman in the truest sense of the term. He sought to build a new India in tune with his ideals. He sought to build an India where secularism and nationalism will reign in the truest sense of the term. Two Commissions had been set up before about Netaji. About this controversial personality, Netaji, for whom the Muslims have high regards, Mohd. Ali Jinnah has said that of all the Congress leaders, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was respected most by him. Two Commissions have already completed their investigations about Netaji and, despite all this, the people still have some confusion about it. I am quoting some excerpts from a book which may throw some light on whether these Commissions were committed or sought to express their views independently. I refer to the term "committed" in the sense in which talks of committed judiciary had gained currency some time back. This book named "India's Struggle for Freedom" has been written by Major General A. C. Chatterjee. He wrote this book some time before independence and some time after Netaji's disappearance. Major General A. C. Chatterjee was First General Secretary, Indian Independence League. He was the first Finance Minister of the Government formed by the Azad Hind Fouz. He was Governor-designate of liberated territories and the Foreign Minister of the Provisional Government of Free India. In this book published before independence, he has told something about Netaji. About the mystery involving his disappearance and about his so-called death in an aircrash, he has said, "The next day on the 23rd, A. M. Sahay got the news that Tokyo Radio had announced that the plane carrying Netaji Subhash Bose and Col. Habibur Rehman had crashed in Taihoku in Formosa on the 18th while trying to take off from aerodrome. The news undoubtedly stunned us but frankly speaking none of us believed it to be true." None of the then close associates of Netaji believed that Netaji had died in a plane-crash. For this, we support this motion. We support it because both the Hindus and the Muslims have high regards for Netaji and many people wish that a new inquiry may be conducted in a new context and the truth may come out. That is why I extend by support to the motion and end my speech.

Shri Nalini Kanta Guha : Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank every one, irrespective of his party affiliations, for lending support to by motion in today's sitting. Netaji Subhash Chandra wanted to fight against British imperialism in India. But the right-wing Congress, at that time, had not agreed to his proposal and that is why no struggle could be pushed forward then. For that reason, he was compelled to join hands with the Axis Powers comprising of Germany, etc. to fight against his English and American enemies. This was not a radically new effort and such efforts were also taken before. During World War I, the revolutionaries of our country tried, with German help, to exterminate the British imperialism. So, when it was no longer possible for him to continue his struggle within the country, he decided to take advantage of the Global War to facilitate his struggle for India's independence and to implement this proposal, he felt compelled to go abroad and had to accept foreign help. This is true that he took their help but was reluctant to concede to them any advantages in India. He had contacts with the Socialist Bloc as the Head of the Azad Hind Fouz Government and there are proofs behind this.

He declared war against America and British but never declared war against Russia and China. Despite Japan's entreaties, he did not attempt at this. His campaign had not only benefited India, but all the colonies of South-East Asia also felt enthused and inspired by it and now they have registered significant progress through their anti-imperialist struggle So, I have put forward the proposal today to set up a new probe Commission to unravel the

mystery involving Netaji's death which could not be done by the two previously appointed Commissions and all of you, irrespective of your party affiliations, have endorsed my proposal. Mahatma Gandhi also did not believe that he had died in such a manner. When Mahatma Gandhi went to meet us in jail in 1946, we asked him through Mr. Satya Ranjan Bakshi whether Netaji Subhash Chandra was alive or not. Mahatma Gandhi said in clear terms, "I believe Subhash is alive". Even Mahatma Gandhi did not believe his death news. So, I would request the Central Government to help unveil the mystery by forming an inquiry commission immediately in deference to the spirit of the motion moved by all of us, irrespective of our party affiliations. There still lingers some suspense in the minds of the people about Netaji's mysterious death and they have aired it through their actions in so many ways. People rush to the place where Netaji's mysterious death is discussed. Such is the extent of Netaji's popularity among the youth community that they feel that the country could have gained much if he now comes back to the country. I appeal to the Central Government to immediately take measures regarding this in order to unveil the mystery and with this hope that they would try to resolve fully the mystery involving Netaji's death, I end by speech.

The motion was then put and agreed to unanimously.

ANNEXURE

ANNEXURE A

পশ্চিমবঙ্গ বিধানসভায় ৩০এ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭৭ তারিখে পশ্চিমবঙ্গ বিধানসভার কার্যপ্রণালী ও পরিচালন নিয়মাবলীর ১৮৫ নং নিয়মানুযায়ী গৃহীত প্রস্তাব।

"ফরমোসার তাইহোকু বিমান বন্দর হইতে নেতাজী সুভাষচন্দ্রের রহস্যজনক অন্তর্ধানে সমগ্র দেশবাসীর মনে এক সদাজাগ্রত উদ্বেগ রহিয়াছে। এই রহস্য উদ্ঘাটনের নিমিত্ত কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার কর্তৃক নিযুক্ত শাহ্‌নওয়াজ কমিশন কিংবা পরবর্তীকালে নিযুক্ত খোসলা কমিশনের তদন্ত রিপোর্ট জনমানসের নিকট প্রত্যয়যোগ্য তথা উদ্ঘাটনে সক্ষম হয় নি। ফলে সমগ্র দেশবাসীর মনে জাতীয় সংগ্রামের ইতিহাসের এই গুরুত্বপূর্ণ অধ্যায় সম্পর্কে সংশয় আজও নিরসনের অপেক্ষা রাখে। এই সংশয় সম্প্রতি লোকসভার অধিবেশনকালীন আলোচনাতেও উচ্চারিত হইয়াছে।

তাই পশ্চিমবঙ্গ বিধানসভা কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারের নিকট দাবি করিতেছে যে, জনমানসের প্রত্যয়যোগ্য একটি প্রকৃত তথ্যনিষ্ঠ পরিপূর্ণ তদন্তের দ্বারা নেতাজীর উক্ত অন্তর্ধানের রহস্য উদ্ঘাটনের জাতীয় কর্তব্য পালনের নিমিত্ত অবিলম্বে কার্যকরী ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করা হউক।"

ANNEXURE B

पश्चिमबंग विधान सभा की कार्यप्रणाली और संचालन नियमावली के १८५ संख्यक नियम के अनुसार पश्चिमबंग विधान सभा में दिनांक ३० सितम्बर १९७७ को पारित प्रस्ताव।

"फारमोसा के ताईहोकू विमान अड्डे से नेताजी सुभाषचन्द्र के रहस्यजनक ढंग से अन्तर्धान हो जाने के फलस्वरूप समस्त देशवासियों के मन में आज भी गहरा उद्वेग बना हुआ है। इस रहस्य को उद्घाटित करने के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार द्वारा नियुक्त शाहनवाज आयोग या उसके पश्चात् नियुक्त खोसला आयोग के जांच प्रतिवेदन जनमानस द्वारा विश्वास योग्य तथ्य उपस्थित करने में समर्थ नहीं हुए हैं। फलतः समस्त देशवासियों के मन में राष्ट्रीय संग्राम के इतिहास के इस महत्त्वपूर्ण अध्याय के सम्बन्ध में व्याप्त सन्देह के निवारण का प्रयोजन आज भी बना हुआ है। लोकसभा के हाल के अधिवेशन के विचार विमर्श में भी यह सन्देह व्यक्त हुआ है।

इसीलिए पश्चिमबंग विधान सभा केन्द्रीय सरकार से मांग करती है कि जनमानस द्वारा विश्वासयोग्य वस्तुतः तथ्यनिष्ठ जांच द्वारा नेताजी के उक्त अन्तर्धान हो जाने के रहस्य के उद्घाटन के राष्ट्रीय कर्तव्य के पालनार्थ अति शीघ्र कार्यक्रम व्यवस्था की जाये।"

ANNEXURE C

***Motion under Rule** 185 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly adopted in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly on 30th September, 1977.*

"The mysterious disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra from Taihoku airport in Formosa has caused an ever-awake anxiety in the minds of all the countrymen. The enquiry reports of the Shah Nawaj Commission and subsequently of the Khosla Commission, appointed by the Central Government to unveil this mystery, have not been able to bring out information credible to the public mind. As a result, doubt in the minds of all the countrymen about this important chapter in the history of national struggle is yet to be dispelled. This doubt has also found expression during discussion in the recent session of the Lok Sabha.

So, the West Bengal Legislative Assembly demands of the Central Government that effective measures be taken immediately to fulfil the national task of unveiling the mystery of the said disappearance of Netaji by a fullfledged enquiry, based on facts credible to the public mind."

WBGP-700-5378A-750